

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MILAN 1386

LIMDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT,PFOR,IT

SUBJECT: MILAN POLITICAL SITUATION

MEMCON BETWEEN PSI MAYOR ALDO ANIASI AND CONGEN MILAN AUGUST  
4, 1975

1. (ANIASI WAS RE-ELECTED MAYOR AUGUST 1 FOR THIRD TERM BY  
BASICALLY SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST CITY COUNCIL. SEE MILAN 1381.)
2. ANIASI WAS USUAL QUIET, CONFIDENT AND FRIENDLY SELF IN  
MIDST OF FIREWORKS SET OFF BY CIRCUMSTANCES HIS RE-ELECTION.  
HE REMARKED AT OUTSET THAT NATIONAL PRESS WAS HOSTILE TO PSI  
AND WANTED COMPROMESSO STORICO WHICH SOCIALISTS TOTALLY OPPOSED.  
NOT ONLY "CORRIERE DELLA SERA" BUT ALSO "LA STAMPA" DESCRIBED  
HIS ELECTION AS DISGUSTING POLITICAL MANEUVERING WHILE  
PICTURING COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN TURIN AS CLEAN AND PROPER.  
HE COULDN'T ENTIRELY EXPLAIN WHY, BUT SAID CORRIERE IN SUCH DEEP  
FINANCIAL TROUBLE THAT ONE WAY TO KEEP COMMUNIST PRINTERS  
QUIET WAS TO PUBLISH THEIR POINT OF VIEW.
3. SOCIALISTS, SAID ANIASI, WERE IN A TOUGH BUT NOT HOPELESS  
SPOT. THEY HAD FOUGHT JUNE 15 ELECTIONS AGAINST DC ONLY TO  
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SEE COMMUNISTS GET THE VOTES. PROBLEM NOW WAS HOW TO WIN THOSE

VOTES AWAY FROM THE COMMUNISTS. THAT WAS PART OF OPERATION AND ANOTHER WAS TO PICK UP THE DISINTEGRATING LAY PARTIES - SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS, AND LIBERALS.

4. THE COMMUNISTS WERE TRYING A TWO LEVEL TACTIC. WHERE THEY HAD THE VOTES, THEY WANTED TO RULE ALONE. WHERE THEY NEEDED VOTES THEY WANTED TO ALLY WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. IN MILAN, THEY WANTED TO STAY OUT OF THE GOVERNMENT AND SIMPLY BACK A SOCIALIST-DC MAJORITY. IN THAT WAY THEY COULD SHAPE POLICY IN FACT BUT PLAY THE ROLE OF OPPOSITION TO MOP UP THE VOTE OF THOSE DISAPPOINTED IN PSI-DC PERFORMANCE.

5. FROM THE SOCIALIST POINT OF VIEW, THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN A DISASTER. THE COMMUNISTS HAD TO BE SADDLED WITH RESPONSIBILITY WITHOUT LETTING THEM BECOME THE FOCAL POINT FOR DECISION. HE THOUGHT THAT HE HAD SUCCEEDED IN THAT OPERATION.

6. WHILE THE COMMUNISTS HAD ABOUT 30 0/0 OF THE VOTE AND 25 OF THE 80 COUNCILMEN TO THE PSI'S ABOUT 15 0/0 AND 11 COUNCILMEN, THE PSI HAD COME OUT WITH THE MAYOR AND 7 ASSESSORS WHILE THE PCI GOT ONLY 6 ASSESSORS, ONE OF WHOM IS A FORMER LIBERAL. AND WITH THE PSI ARE THE THREE EX-PSDI AND TWO EX-DC ASSESSORS TO BOOT. THAT, SAID ANIASI, SHIFTED THE CENTER OF POLITICAL GRAVITY TO THE PSI DESPITE THE COMMUNIST GAINS FROM ELECTION.

7. ALL OF THIS IS RISKY, HE CONTINUED. BUT WHAT ELSE COULD WE DO? THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS HAVE DEGENERATED INTO A BAND OF WARRING FACTIONS. FOR SEVERAL YEARS THERE HAS BEEN NO ONE TO DEAL WITH WHO CAN MAKE AND KEEP A POLITICAL BARGAIN. AND SINCE THE ELECTIONS IT HAS BEEN EVEN WORSE.

8. HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE DC WAS ABOUT TO SHARE THE FATE OF THE MRP. ZACCAGNINI WAS A MAN OF UNDOUBTED STATURE. HE HAD KNOWN HIM FOR MANY YEARS AND THOUGHT WELL OF HIM. BUT THE SPECTACLE OF FANFANI'S AND RUMOR'S BEHAVIOR WAS PRETTY BAD. IT EXPLAINED WHY MEN LIKE OGILIARI AND SIRTORI IN MILAN, WHO WERE FAR FROM LEFTISTS, HAD BOLTED THE DC.

9. IN THE NEW CITY GOVERNMENT THE REAL COMMUNIST POWER  
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RESIDED WITH CITY COUNCILMEN ELIO QUERCIOI, WHO WAS REGIONAL SECRETARY, AND RICCARDO TERZI, PROVINCIAL SECRETARY. QUERCIOI WAS CALLING THE SHOTS EVEN IF OTHERS HAD BEEN GIVEN THE ADMINISTRATIVE JOBS. IF ANYTHING, QUERCIOI HAD EMERGED MORE POWERFUL THAN EVER.

10. ANIASI COMPLAINED THAT THE PCI IN MILAN WAS POSING AS AN AUTHENTIC SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. IT HAD A MASS FOLLOWING

AND EVEN HE AGREED THAT NO MASS PARTY COULD BE EXTREMIST DESPITE SOME MAXIMALISM AT THE GRASSROOTS. HE CITED EXAMPLES OF BUSINESSMEN WHO WERE BACKING THE COMMUNISTS BECAUSE THEY WERE REASONABLE, UNDERSTANDING AND COULD BRING LABOR PEACE.

11. THE TASK NOW WAS TO DIFFERENTIATE THE SOCIALISTS FROM THESE PRETENDED SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, HE SAID. THEY WERE COMPETING. ONE PART OF THIS EFFORT HAD ALREADY BEEN MADE AT THE FIRST CITY COUNCIL MEETING BY THE PSI GROUP LEADER CARLO TOGNOLI. ANIASI THEN QUOTED TOGNOLI'S REFERENCE TO PCI POSITIONS ON HUNGARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND PORTUGAL AS CONTRADICTORY TO ITS CLAIMED POSITION IN ITALY AND SHOWED ME A LETTER TO SOCIALIST CITY COUNCILMEN UNDERSCORING THE NEED TO AVOID FALLING UNDER COMMUNIST INFLUENCE. IT WAS THE SOCIALIST TASK TO SHOW THE DISTINCTION IN THE CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MILAN. HE KNEW IT WOULD NOT BE EASY.

12. IT WOULD TAKE TIME AND THAT WAS THE REASON THAT HE OPPOSED EARLY NATIONAL ELECTIONS. THE SOCIALISTS NEEDED THE FULLY TWO YEARS TO 1977 TO PREPARE. FINA

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